

Revised

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I. MANCHURIA PAST AND PRESENT

By MATSUOKA, Yosuke

Manchuria is often called in Europe and America, the central zone of war, or "the Balkans of Asia". Many writers point out this area as the stage of 'the next world war'. But in recent years a great influx of Chinese immigrants into Manchuria created a topic for the whole world. In consequence the economic development of Manchuria has drawn much attention. This certainly is an important phase. I would like to discuss this phase. Amidst attacks and abuse Japan has been calmly and boldly striving and concentrating all energies on her objective for more than twenty years. Japan, as she has not forgotten in the past, cannot forget to consider her security seriously. I think you remember that once Russia trampled down Mongolia and Korea with the tacit consent of China and almost succeeded in occupying Manchuria. History repeats itself, and Japan has still reason to be apprehensive for her safety. Regardless of this situation, giving her best talent to the development of Manchuria, Japan has been striving to achieve her objective. The world has begun to recognise the actual fact that the thirty years' history of Manchuria is a record of development probably never known in the world's history and fortunately this record will hold out and another will be created in several dozen years to come. In order to make a full estimation of Manchurian achievement, I think it is necessary to make various comparative studies. In the first place, comparison must be made by tracing back to the age of Manchuria before NEICHVING (YINKOW) was opened as a foreign trade port. Only seventy years ago Manchuria was nothing but a deserted, uncultivated area, thinly popu-

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lated with no contact with the modern civilised world, the only exception being that trade in furs and hides was carried out across the Siberian border. The government of the CHING Dynasty in Peking was not only loath to encourage the cultivation of Manchuria, but tried every means to impede it. For instance, the government enforced its policy of forbidding the Chinese to emigrate into areas north of the Great Wall. It was only in 1905 that the laws and orders relative to this were abolished. The Manchurian court in Peking deemed Manchuria a forbidden land isolated from other Chinese areas and the Chinese were not allowed to settle there.

The history of Manchuria's connections with other powers at large dates from the day when NEWCHWANG was opened as a port. But the development of the port since its opening was so slow that after forty years its annual foreign trade did not exceed 20 million Haikwan (Ta Custom) Taels. This slow development was due to the fact that at the time the sole dependable traffic facilities in Manchuria were rivers and streams. NEWCHWANG (YINKOW) situated at the mouth of a river, enjoyed an advantageous position in trade. But as the railway came to occupy the foremost position as a means of transportation and the river froze during the most important months of the year, this circumstance had been an obstacle to the port of NEWCHWANG achieving a large scale commercial development.

The large scale development of Manchuria which has been realised within these thirty years, in fact, entirely depended on the opening of railway transportation. It was the construction of that huge T form Eastern China Railway by the Russians that took an initiative in this field. Although the Russians laid the railroad chiefly in strategic consideration, the distribution of the railway lines was suitable for

commercial development. One was a commercial line stretching from east to west, with Vladivostok as the central port, and the other was the line running from south to north having Dairen as its terminus. The reason why I specially lay stress on this, is very clearly shown in that Manchurian development in future may be achieved by following the original Russian plan which confirmed the above mentioned success by building the rail roads in four directions. While Russians should be crowned with the honour of having taken an initiative toward the development of Manchuria according to modern principles, it is also plain fact that the Russian undertakings in Manchuria did not give an noteworthy benefit to the world. Namely, the Russians used the Manchurian railway entirely for their own purpose, without opening this to others. So there was no other way for other nations to carry on trade in Manchuria except through NEWCHWANG as before. Later the situation made a rapid change when Japan came to possess the most part of the southern line of the Eastern China Railway, opened this railway to every nation of the world, made DAIREN a free port and quickened the opportunity for opening many commercial markets in all Manchuria. Thus Japan brought a motive power to make this area a really important factor in the world's commerce.

During this period or within a few years after the Russo-Japanese War, the resources of Manchuria were, properly speaking, a possibility rather than an actuality. I think the prosperity of Manchuria as we see it to-day is to be attributed to the achievements performed in the past quarter century. The main factors of this development consist in the South Manchuria Railway and several Japanese interests on account of which the Japanese government is responsible for maintaining peace and order in Manchuria. Among the twenty eight ports and

markets opened for Manchurian trade, twenty four were opened by Japanese proposals. Even so, we could have anticipated the present prosperity of Manchuria without the Japanese contribution in affording the two factors essential for Manchurian international development, namely peace and safe steady communication facilities.

If we go back to the time before Japanese interests originated and compare the past Manchurian situation with that of China proper, the former is found to have been an unknown and uncultivated area, having very little trade with other nations.

Compared with the rest of the Chinese areas, Manchuria remained barren land infested with mounted bandits and China Proper had no concern over it. In China Proper at that time there had already appeared signs of development in railways, harbours, telegraphic communications and other modern cultural facilities, while Manchuria still remained deserted land. However, during the past thirty years Manchuria has not only attained the level of China proper, but outstripped it in various fields. Also in China proper because of civil war and other insurrections, the actual industrial development, especially transport facilities were completely impeded and the existent industrial facilities in many fields were demolished.

On the contrary we saw the progress of constant construction and development. Thirty years ago there were a few isolated cottages in HARBIN, but it has now become a city with about 400,000 inhabitants. The then deserted coast of DAIKIN, has already become the second largest port in China. During the past twenty years Manchurian population and its annual foreign trade increased from 20 million Haikwan Taels to 726 million Haikwan Taels. Manchuria remained a barren area with

no other importance to China than that it provided the Manchurian court in Peking, the Manchurian Chi-Jen (TN: followers of the first Emperor of the CHING Dynasty) to govern the Chinese, but Manchuria has become one of the most thriving districts in China which is now responsible for one third of her foreign trade. Moreover, I do not think it a preposterous exaggeration to say that Japan is qualified to be loaded with not a little honour for this development of Manchuria. From the beginning of her various activities, Japan unfortunately incurred a certain suspicion. I will next quote what Sir Alexander Hosi wrote in December, 1900. This is really an interesting paragraph.

"South Manchuria was invaded and occupied by the Japanese as the result of the Sino-Japanese War from 1894 to 1895; a very pessimistic view was taken in certain quarters as to the commercial future of Manchuria. This view proved to be false in the light of the later historical development. Japan has already become the chief market of Manchurian staples, and now that she is free and unobstructed in buying materials, she is making industrial expansion with great energy and considerable success. Manchurian trade since the Sino-Japanese war has actually trebled."

After the Russo-Japanese war, Japanese activities of primary importance have been the establishment of the South Manchuria Railway Company, Ltd, and the reconstruction of the railroads completely destroyed by the retreating Russian troops. Moreover, Japan made the port of DAIREN a modern harbour as it is to-day, laid and reconstructed the Mukden-Antung Railway which runs between Mukden and Antung, afforded financial facilities to the Chinese railways; and as they actually engaged in railway construction works, in place of the Chinese people, in most cases, transport and industrial developments in large areas of

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Manchuria have resulted. The experiments and investigations achieved by Japan hastened the progress of Manchurian agriculture and live-stock breeding and made various Manchurian material products prominent in the world market.

It is, of course, based on consideration of her own interests that Japan engaged in activities in Manchuria, but at the same time it is a plain fact that foreigners and the Chinese who reside in Manchuria are enjoying substantial benefits because Japan takes an interest in that land. Yes, the real situation is that foreign residents in Manchuria rely on the Japanese railways, railways constructed and harbour equipments managed by Japan for transporting their imports and exports. And in case of emergency, it is the Japanese troops stationed there that the foreign residents will count on for the safety of their lives and property. Though their number is small, the history shows that not only the Japanese but also foreign residents and many Chinese were constantly under their protection. For instance, at the time of the KUO, Sung-ling incident, the Japanese railway zone was swarmed with Chinese, and foreigners in Mukden frankly admitted that for their safety they had to rely on Japanese troops. Foreign residents in Manchuria share the benefit of hygiene services, city planning; hospitals and cultural institutions mainly installed by Japan. The prevention of the plague and other epidemics which raged in Manchuria, is entirely carried out by the cooperation of both the Japanese and Chinese nations.

However, we should not overlook the prominent contributions of direct and indirect made by foreign nations in developing Manchuria. Great Britain constructed the Peking-Mukden Railway whose main line runs in Man-

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Manchuria. The first bonds of the South Manchuria Railway subscribed for the achievement of its great undertaking, were accepted by British capitalists. Especially the South Manchuria Railway's accessories in the earlier period were mostly purchased from U.S.A. So that is the reason why the present South Manchuria Railway is called a typically American railway. Russia and France made contributions, the former constructing the Eastern China Railway and the latter supplying the most part of construction expenses. As the world is gradually recognising the result of progress achieved in Manchuria and the surprising possibility of its further development in future, there is no doubt that foreign capital is seeking objects of investment in Manchuria so as to promote its present progress.

That the foreign nations share the benefit of Manchurian development is best shown in trade statistics. I do not like to bother you by enumerating minute statistical figures now, but I simply state a few of them. While in 1898 the British vessels entering the Manchuria ports numbered 168; 161,000 tons in total, they in 1928 reached 556 vessels, 2,700,000 tons in total tonnage. As to U.S.A. ships, only four sailing vessels came to the Manchurian harbours in 1898, while in 1928, that is-- within the past thirty years, they increased to 127 vessels and 500,000 tons. British trade for Manchuria through three open ports in South. Manchuria was 20,000,000 Haikwan Taels in total in 1928, while U.S.A. trade within the same year reached 3,500,000 Haikwan Taels.

To these I will add the following announcement of the Chinese Mail Affairs Bureau. Last year's U.S.A. export trade to China proper is reckoned at 30 cents sold per person, while to Manchuria, the sale is at the rate of 80 cents per person.

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What benefit are the Chinese enjoying from the Manchurian development? This is too evident a fact to be dwelt upon. Nevertheless, unfortunately we hear constant complaints from the Chinese that Manchuria is being 'looted' by foreigners. Also we often see paintings which depict these pitiable Chinese residents in Manchuria, who were suffering through the friction between Russia and Japan. There is no doubt that it was a great blessing to Manchuria that originality, capital, and enterprises needed for the Manchurian development were all supplied by foreigners. Namely, in fact, Russia, Japan, and Great Britain constructed all railways in Manchuria and supplied them with capital till recent years, while comparatively small is the amount of capital invested by the Chinese for a great railway network undertaking, a keynote for progress and prosperity of Manchurian rulers and inhabitants. Without these railways and especially these export outlets for Manchuria's principal products through the harbour installations of DAIREN and Vladivostok, no doubt the present Manchuria would have been just a step further from the former Manchuria which had a sole sea port at NEWCHWANG. It is a plain truth that solely by dint of development in transport facilities and maintenance of peace and order, is the present Manchuria an area provided with the highest prosperity and order in the whole of China and consequently with the greatest possibility of future development.

Moreover, it is for us to remember that our Chinese friends speak grievously over the preponderance of foreign interests in Manchuria, while by their own acts they show themselves that they realise benefits bestowed on them by the existence of the fore-mentioned foreign interests. The best evidence of this is that of those numerous Chinese immigrants who came from north China, especially from Shantung

It is still more significant that the Chinese show a special fancy for living in Manchurian areas under Japanese jurisdiction. Thus the Chinese population in Manchuria doubled in the past twenty years. The Chinese population in the South Manchurian Railway zone increased from 9,000 persons in 1907 to 202,000 in 1917. In other words, the Chinese population in the whole Manchuria was doubled, while those in the railway zone under Japanese jurisdiction increased more than twenty times. Manchuria covers an area of 384,000 square miles and its Chinese population is reckoned approximately at 27,000,000 persons while the Japanese leased territory extending only to 1,400 square miles, actually holds more than one million Chinese. The reason why the Chinese like this area is very clear. Under Japanese administration there are wide modern cultural facilities, low and fixed taxes and a good police system. Though at the beginning of the establishment of the South Manchuria Railway Co. Ltd., subscription for shares was equally offered to the Chinese, they did not want to utilise this opportunity. However, the Chinese in Manchuria profit much by the enterprises of the South Manchuria Railway Co., Ltd. The company employs more Chinese than Japanese. In the fiscal year which ended in March, 1928, against 22,000,000 Yen dividend to the share-holders, the total amount of wages paid was 26,45,000 Yen, 75% of which went to the Chinese. Moreover, what we should remember is that even most of the Japanese incomes there are expended for purchase of Manchurian products, so after all they are gained by the Chinese people.

Next, Japan is the first market abroad for Manchurian staples. Japan does not only transport Manchurian farm products but also is a great customer for them. Should Japan block her railways and harbour

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in Manchuria and decide not to buy Manchurian products, Manchuria would face a panic instantly.

As I have said before, the chief Japanese contributions towards Manchuria are maintenance of peace, and supply of proper and safe traffic facilities. Nevertheless Japan could have done nothing without the greatest Chinese asset, i.e., cheap and diligent Chinese labour. As peace is secured, millions of Chinese have lately flowed into Manchuria from northern Chinese provinces, especially from Shantung to be absorbed into large and uncultivated fertile soil. This influx of immigrants constitutes a main factor for future Manchurian development, together with the fact that almost a half of the arable soil in Manchuria still lies unploughed. When this factor, the abundant supply of cheap but efficient labour, together with the still uncultivated soil, is to be utilised, we have to rely on two factors which, so to speak, made Manchuria what it is to-day -- peace and transportation. About 3,450 miles of the railway which Manchuria has to-day, consist of about 700 miles occupied by the South Manchuria Railway, 1,100 miles of the Eastern China Railway and the rest, 1,650 miles under the control of the Chinese.

Some of these Chinese railways for which the Japanese supplied capital and undertook construction for China, are under control of China. Several important routes, however, were constructed by the Chinese with their own capital. It is an important factor now that the Chinese kept their own railways, electric cars and electric-light undertakings, and made the streets large enough to carry out modern city planning, when we compare the state with other Chinese districts which have been given over to chaos rather than to construction within the past several dozen years.

Conditions in Manchuria originate to a certain extent from the fact that the Chinese owe much to Japanese leadership in following her enterprise, but we would expect more or less similar situations to be realised in other Chinese provinces. If peace and order can be maintained, the same development can be expected in Chinese provinces other than Manchuria. Manchuria shows a splendid example to other Chinese provinces that a surprising achievement can be attained by the Chinese with their superb perseverance and vigorous energy if they are allowed to act freely without any obstruction. As a matter of course, the fact is clearly shown that the development and prosperity of any area make peace and order an absolutely necessary condition, and order follows the development of railway communication, if these Manchurian districts enjoying railroad facilities are compared with others not having the fortune. Thus in the Japanese railway zone order is specially maintained and from the result the fact is found that even the Chinese praise the railway zone for the safety of their trade and livelihood. This is just the same as the fact that the Chinese themselves seek their safety at the foreign settlements outside Manchuria, and even in the Chinese railway zones, peace and order are better maintained than in other areas where railway facilities are unknown. In other words, the situation is that unprotected travel is dangerous, even the areas not far from railroads, being bandit ridden, to say nothing of the districts without railway facilities. As Manchurian development in the past owed itself to the existent railways, still more railways will have to be constructed to achieve further future development, because it is to be expected that the immigrants in the districts with railway facilities will reach a saturation point. We often hear of railway competition arising between the Chinese and

Japanese, and of course common sense shows that such a fear is not well founded. The reason why Japan takes interest in Manchurian development consists in this, that she seeks materials in Manchuria to make manufactured goods of them so as to sell them there in expectation of the gradually increasing Manchurian population. Japan has several times declared that she has no political ambition in Manchuria. This requires no evidence, but the best evidence is that Japan actually encouraged and urged Chinese immigration in Manchuria.

Each time a Chinese immigrant is added Manchuria becomes more Chinese, so if Japan should entertain any political ambition, she would have to oppose the influx of immigrants. All Chinese immigrants coming into Manchuria to live are producers of material goods and at the same time potential purchasers of industrial goods. In this sense it is a vital concern for Japan to encourage immigrants. In order to cultivate the areas to be settled by these immigrants, new railways must be constructed. So long as these new railways do not make it their objective simply to impede the existent railways and to compete amongst themselves but rather to open a new working field and as long as they are so constructed as to be properly and ably managed, it goes without saying that they should be constructed by any one. The increase of Manchurian production is so quick that it is almost unimaginable for a well laid out railway to suffer from scarcity of cargoes.

Moreover, Manchurian railways rather than suffering from mutual competition, must cooperate in helping each other. Furthermore, all railways from the point of view of giving full scope to their natural function of practical use, cannot be allowed to overlook the necessity of keeping in touch with proper sea ports, and the construction of new

railways in Manchuria should necessarily be decided upon from a consideration of the question of whether or not it is possible to install harbour installations at geographically suitable points. The greater part of Manchurian products at present need to be transported through the two big ports of DAIREN and Vladivostok. Small ports like ANTUNG and YINKOW, even if they be improved, cannot be expected to mean much in the solution of the problem of how to transport the tremendous volume of Manchurian products in case the present almost 27 million population of Manchuria should increase to 75 million in future (and Manchuria can easily sustain this population.) When the still uncultivated districts are cultivated according to the arrangement of transport functions, it is self-evident that, following them, the increase of railways and harbour equipments will be required. When we consider the huge increase of products in future, Manchuria is, as it were, a gigantic bottle filled with a large volume of fluid which can flow only from a single and restricted outlet.

In making new harbour installations it clearly follows that such coastal spots must be chosen so as to bring products by land transport from various parts of the hinterland by way of the shortest possible distance. And such harbour installations, of course, must be made as much as possible at spots which lie within a short distance from the railhead.

This is, for example, why Japan tries to set up a sea port on the Korean coast, which is to function as an export port for the large and fertile areas having already been and to be cultivated in the northern and western part of the railroad between CHANGCHUN and TUNHUA. The products of the foregoing areas, if good harbour installations existed, can make the distance far shorter than at present to reach

their respective terminal markets (Japan is one of the most important markets.) As the prices of commodities such as soybeans and wheat are decided by the world market and their buyers are governed by these prices, whether the expense in transportation is high or low is a cost for producers. The more expense needed to forward products from the place of origin to the place of selling, the less becomes the profit for the farmers to be gained from the products. Moreover, in proportion as these materials produced in Manchuria are supplied cheap to the countries which demand them for the production of manufactured goods, increases the power of purchasing raw materials and expands the market to which Manchurian farmers sell their products.

To be sure, in Manchuria, Japan, China and all other countries in the world desire the same state of affairs, that is, its rapid prosperity and development. As to the means of achieving this, as I have often tried to explain, factors which performed a miracle in the past few dozen years, namely, both peace and proper transport function should be the chief factors in the future development. It goes without saying that one thing essential under the present circumstances is cooperation. In the several dozen years to come too, construction should be carried out on the basis which has given us success in the past thirty years, and Manchuria shall be made not only the most prosperous area in China, but also an example to be followed by the rest of China.

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TRANSLATION CERTIFICATE

I, William L. Clarke, of the Defense Language Branch,
hereby certify that the foregoing attached translation is, to
the best of my knowledge and belief, a correct translation
and is as near as possible to the meaning of the original
document.

s/s William L. Clarke

Tokyo, Japan

Date: 22 January 1947

「太平洋會議」に於ける二箇演説（昭和四年、十一月、四日、松岡洋右氏）中より抄録
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第一 滿洲の過去及び現在

滿洲は屢々歐米諸國に於て戰禍の中心地帯、即ち「亞細亞のバルカン」と稱せられ、又多くの記者は好むでこの地域を「次の世界戦争」の舞臺として指摘して居るのであります。乍併最近數年來滿洲に向つて支那人移民が大量的に流入し來つたことが端なくも海外世界各國人の話題となり、従つて滿洲の經濟的發展といふことに多大の注意を喚起せらるゝに至つたのであります。これはいふまでもなく眞に重要なる局面であります。この局面に就て私をして指摘することゝを許されずならば、日本は種々なる萬般攻撃の眞只中にあつて靜かに而かも健甯に過ぐる二十有數ヶ年の間その目的とする處に邁進し、その努力を傾倒し來つたのであります。日本は過去に於て爾かせざりし如く、その國家的安全に關して重大なる考慮を支拂ふことを忘却するを許さない。露西亞が嘗て支那の賦歸の下に蒙古及び朝鮮を蹂躪し、殆んど滿洲を略取するに成功したことは御記憶の事と思ひます。歴史は繰返す、而して日本は依然として此點に關して憂

慮を決む可き理由を有つのであります。而かも如斯形勢なるにも拘らず、日本は滿洲の經濟的發展の爲に精すにその最優秀なる頭腦を以てして、その目的の完成に勢の來つたのであります。世界は今や滿洲に於る三十年の歴史は世界史上恐らくは未だ曾て有らざる所の發展の記録であり、而かも幸にしてこの記録は實にその發展の可能なるのみならず、將來幾十年間に亘つて一層の開發が可能なることの真相を認識し始めつゝあります。

滿洲の過去及び現在の業績を充分に評價するには、私は急ふに種々なる比較研究を必要とする。先づ第一に外國貿易港として牛莊（即ち營口）の開放せらるゝ以前の滿洲時代に遡つて比較せねばならぬ、それは僅々七十年前のことでありますが、當時の滿洲は實に人煙稀薄にして近代文明世界とは何等の接觸なき、一箇の荒涼たる未開の地域たるに過ぎなかつた。只僅かにその西伯利亞國境方面に於て若干獸皮等の取引が行はれた許りであります。北京の清政府は滿洲の開發を獎勵しなかつたのみならず、却つてこれを阻止するが爲

めに凡百ゆる試みを致したのであります。例へば萬里の長城以北の地に漢人の移住を禁止するの政策を強行したのであります。これに關する法令が僅に一九〇五年に廢止せられた許りであります。北京に於ける滿洲朝廷は滿洲を目して封禁の地と爲し、滿洲以外の支那の各地と隔離せしめ、而して漢人の來任禁止の地と致したのであります。

滿洲が世界各國と一般に接觸するに至つた歴史は、一八六〇年牛莊開港の日より始まる、が併しその開港以來の歴史は甚だ變々たるものにして、爾來四十年餘を經ても尙ほその外國貿易は年額二千萬海關兩を越ゆることがないのであります。この交通の速かならざる所以のものは、當時滿洲に於て頗るべき唯一の交通機關が河川であつたといふ事實に原因するものであります。牛莊即ち營口の位置たるや河口にあつて貿易上有利の地位でありましたか、一度鐵道が滿洲に於る交通機關として第一次的地位を占むるに及んで、又一年中の最重要なる數ヶ月間河川の水結するといふやうなこともあり旁々

この情分は平莊港をして大規模の商業的發展を爲さしむるに一の障害となり來つて居るのであります。

過去三十ヶ年間に於て實現せられたる大規模なる滿洲の開発は實全く鐵道運輸の開始に依るのであります。此れに先鞭をつけたるものは彼の露西亞人の巨大なる丁字形の東支鐵道建設であつたのであります。

露西亞人は主として戦略的考慮を以てその鐵道を布設したるにも拘らず、その鐵道諸線路の分布は明かに商業的發展に相應しいものであります。即ち一は滿洲州を吞吐港として東西に亘る商業諸線、他の一は大連を終點として南北に走る諸線であります。私が特にこれを力説する所以のものは、將來に於る滿洲の開発は、即ち東西南北に亘る鐵道線路の建設に依つて、上述の如き成功を立證せる露西亞人の原計畫の方針を踏襲することに於て完成せらるゝことが極めて明瞭だからであります。

一方露西亞は近代の方針の下に滿洲開發の第一着手を爲したるの

名譽を博ふべきであると同時に、露西亞人の痛みに於る事業は殆んど世界に對して何等の利益を興へなかつたことも明白なる事實であります。

即ち露西亞人は滿洲の鐵道を全く自己單獨の目的の爲に使用して他にこれを開放せず、爲めに他の諸國民は依然として牛莊を距て滿洲貿易を営むの外通はなかつたのであります。乍併その後日本が東支鐵道兩部線の大半を所有せる後に於て、この鐵道を世界各國民の爲めに開放し、大連を目田港と爲し、而して全滿洲を通じて鐵道の商業市場開設の機運を促進するに至つては、一變した、如斯にしてこの地畝をして世界商業に於る眞に重要なる一要素たらしむる原動力を齎らしたのであります。

この時に於て即ち日露戰爭直後數年間に於て、滿洲の富源なるものは現實的といふよりも寧ろ可能的なりといふ方が適切であつた、而して今日目撃するか如き滿洲の繁榮は、過去二十數ヶ年間に亘つて遂行せられたる業績に歸せらるべきものと考へます。この發展の

主たる要素は南滿洲鐵道並に日本國政府をして其の故に滿洲に於る秩序と治安維持に任ぜしむる所の日本の各種利益の存在であります。滿洲の通商の爲めに開かれたる二十八箇所の開港場及び開市場の中二十四箇所は日本の提議に依つて開かれたものであります。このこと自體すら、若し日本が滿洲の國際的商業發展の爲めに缺くべからざる二つの要素、即ち平和と安全にして確實なる運輸機關とを供與したる事實がなかつたなれば、殆んど今日の殷賑を期待し得ないであります。

日本の利益の發生以前に通つて當時の滿洲と支那本部の狀態を比較するならば、前者は未知未開の地域にして、世界各國との貿易は極めて微々たるものであることが悉く。これを滿洲の支那の各地と比較するならば、滿洲は依然として馬賊の横行する不毛の地であつて、支那本部は何等之に關心する所がなかつたのであります。支那本部に於ては當時既に鐵道、港灣、電信、その他幾多の近代文明の態様に於て近代的發展の證據を示したるに河らず、滿洲は尙ほ事實

上一箇の荒蕪の地であつた。然るに適云三十年の間に於て滿洲は獨り支那本部の域に達したるのみならず、幾多の方面に於てこれを凌駕するに至つたのであります。又支那本部に於ては内亂其の他の騷動の爲めに事實上産業的發展、特に運輸機能を完全に阻害し、且つ幾多の方面に於て既存の産業的機能を破壊し盡して居るのであります。その反對に滿洲は不斷的建設と發展の進行を見たのであります。哈爾濱には三十年前に於ては一軒立の淋しい支那家屋があつたに過ぎなかつたのでありますが、今や約四十萬人の居住民を有する一箇の都市となりました。當時名も知られざる醜陋の荒蕪に過ぎなかつた大連は既に支那に於ける第二位の港になつて居ります。過去二十一年間に於て滿洲の人口は二倍に増加し、その外國貿易は年額二千萬海關兩より七億二千六百萬海關兩に増進しました。滿洲は北京の滿洲朝廷がそれに依つて以て漢人を統治し得たる滿洲旗人を供給したる外には、支那にとつて何等の重要任を有せざる荒蕪の地域でありましたが、種々なる方面に於て滿洲は既に支那に於る最繁榮な

る地方となり、今や支那の外國貿易全額の三分の一を擔當して居ります。

更に私はこの滿洲の發展に對して、日本は少からざる名譽を負擔するの資格ありといふも不遜なる過言ではなからうと思ひます。滿洲に於る日本の諸々の活動は不幸にしてその最初より或る種の疑惑を被つて居ります。次に一九〇〇年十二月サー・アレキサンダー・ホージイ氏 (Sir Alexander Hosie) の言をました所のものを譯みますが、これは甚だ異ある一節であります。曰く、

「一八九四―一九五年の日清戦争に依り、滿洲が日本の優勢を占領するところとなりたるが爲めに、滿洲の商業的將來に關して或方面に於ては甚だ悲觀的な見解が行はれたるも、この種の見解はその後の歴史的經過に於て虚妄なることが立証せられ、日本が既に滿洲の主要市場となり、如斯く日本は今や原料輸入の途に於て自由無礙なることに依り、大なる努力と相當なる成功とを以てその工業を進展しつゝある。日清戦争以來滿洲の貿易は現當に三倍化せり。」

日露戦後日本の活動の第一次的重要性を有するものは南滿洲鐵道株式會社の創立と露西亞軍が撤退するに際して根本的に破壊したる鐵道路線の再建とであります。日本は又大連港を以て今日見るが如き近代的港灣と爲し、奉天より女東に至る安奉線を敷設改造し、而して支那側の諸鐵道に對して益以上の便益を圖り、且つ多の場合に於て事實上支那人の代つてその鐵道建設の業に従事したるが故に滿洲に於る廣大なる地域の交通及び産業の開発となつたのであります。日本の成し遂げたる實績と研究とは滿洲の農産、畜産の大なる進歩を促し、滿洲産の種々なる原料品をして世界市場に於る有数の商品たらしむるに至つたのであります。

日本が滿洲に於て種々なる活動を致す所以のものは、日本自身の利益の考慮に基くことは勿論でありますが、乍併一箇の事實として同時に又滿洲に於る諸外國人並に支那人諸君が日本が彼の地に於て權益を有することに依り、大に實質上の利益を受けて居ることとなく明白なることであります。然り、滿洲に於る居留外國人は輸入

出商品を輸送するに當つて、主として日本の鐵道及び日本の建設に
 係る鐵道並に日本の經營に屬する港灣設備に寄與し居るがその實狀
 であります。又時局切迫の場合に於て居留外國人がその生命財産の
 安全を期待する所のものは日本の駐屯軍である、その數こそは少な
 が、過去の歴史に於て獨り日本人のみならず、居留外國人及び多数
 の支那人に對して斷えず保護を盡したのであります。例へば彼の郭
 松島事件の當時、多数の支那人が日本の鐵道附屬地に蜂集し來り、
 奉天に於る諸外國人は彼等の安全を日本の軍隊に依頼せねばならぬ
 ことを卒直に認めて居るのであります。

又滿洲に於る諸外國人は主として日本の創建に係る衛生、都市計
 畫、病院、其の他の近代的文化施設の恩恵に浴し、且つ従前嘗て滿
 洲に於てその勢を逞しうしたるベスト其の他の流行病に對する防衛
 は全く日支兩國民の協力に依つて行はるゝものであります。

乍併諸外國が直接間接に滿洲の開発に相當の寄與貢獻を致したる
 ことも亦固より看過すべからざるものがあります。即ち英國はその

主要部分を滿洲に有する所の京奉線を建設し、又南滿洲鐵道株式會社がその偉大なる創立事業遂行の爲めに要したる第一次の社債は英國資本の供與せる所のものであります。特に初期に於る南滿洲鐵道株式會社の設備品は大部分米國より購入せるものであります。でありますから今日の南滿洲鐵道が最も典型的なる米國式鐵道といはるゝ所以であります。露西亞は東支鐵道を建設し、朝鮮國はこれが大部分の建設費を供給せることに於て賛成して居ります。世界は今や漸次にして滿洲に於て成し遂げられたる進歩の實績と驚くべき將來發展の可能性の存することに想ひ到りつゝあるが故に、諸外國の資本がその収下の途を滿洲に求め來つて、滿洲既存の進歩を更に向上せしむることに賛成せらるべきことは疑なきことであります。

滿洲の開発に依つて既に諸外國がその利益の分配に興りつゝあることは貿易統計の最良く示す所であります。私は只今精細なる統計上の數字を羅列して諸君を煩さむと欲するものではありませんが、唯簡単にその二、三を申述べることによめます。一八九八年英國船

結の滿洲に入港せるもの合計百六十八隻、十六万一千噸なるに、一九二八年に於ては五百五十六隻、二百七十万噸に達し、次に米國船は一八九八年に於て滿洲に來れるもの僅かに帆船四隻、合計二千四百噸に過ぎなかつたものが、一九二八年に於て即ち過去三十ヶ年の間に百二十七隻、五十萬噸に増加して居ります。南滿洲の三開港場を通じて行はれたる英國の對滿貿易は一九二八年に於て合計二千萬海關兩、同年に於る米國の對滿貿易は二千六百五十萬海關兩に達して居ります。私は此れに加へて、支那郵務當局の發表によれば、昨年度に於て米國は支那本部に對する輸出額は一人當三十仙の品物を賣込んだに拘はらず、滿洲のそれは一人當り八十仙の割合であるといふことを申上げておきます。

滿洲の開発に依り支那人が如何なる利益を蒙りつゝあるか、これは絮説するまでもなく餘りに明瞭な事實であります。然るに不幸にして滿洲は外國人の「略奪」する所となつて居るといふ不平を斷えず支那人側から聞くのであります。又曰。日兩國軌條の閣下に蹂躪

せられて居る可憐なる滿洲居住の支那人を描いた繪畫をよく見るのであります。滿洲開發の爲めに要したる創意、資本並に企業の殆んど凡てが外國人の提供せるものであることの滿洲の爲めに大なる幸福なることは疑なき事實であります。即ち露西亞、日本、英國は近年に至るまで事實上滿洲に於る凡ての鐵道を建設すると共に、その資金を供給したのであります。而かも之に反して、滿洲の支配者並に居住民の進歩繁榮の基調たる大鐵道網事業の爲めに支那の投下したる現金資本は比較的少額に過ぎないのであります。これらの鐵道なく、更に又特に大連、瀋陽斯德の港灣設備に依る滿洲特産物の輸出口なしとせば、今日の滿洲が牛莊を唯一の海港とせる昔日の滿洲と相距る一步に止るべきは疑ふべくもありません。専ら運輸機關の發達と治安の維持とに依り、今日の滿洲が支那に於る最高度の繁榮と秩序とを具有する地域なること、従つて將來の發展に對して最大限の可能性を有することは紛ふ方なき事實であります。

更に吾が支那の友人諸君は滿洲に於る外國の福益の優越的地位に

就て口では不平を漏し乍ら、實際の行動に於ては、前述の如き外國利益の存在に依つて襲れる恣意に對しては適切な評價を爲さるゝものであることを諸君自らの示さるゝ點は又留意すべき事柄であります。北支那、特に山東より來る莫大なる支那の移住民はその最良を證據であります。支那人が又日本の司法權の及ぶ滿洲の地域を特に慕ひ好むで居住することは更に意義深いことであります。斯くして滿洲の支那人人口は過去二十年間に二倍に増加しましたが、兩滿洲鐵道附屬地内の支那人人口は一九〇七年に於て九千人のものが、一九一七年には二十萬二千人に増加しました。換言すれば、滿洲一般の支那人人口は二倍の増加なるに對して、日本の行政府下にある鐵道附屬地帯は二十倍以上の増加であります。滿洲の面積三十八萬四千方哩、その支那人人口約二千七百萬となるに拘らず、僅々一千四百方哩の日本の租借地帯は實に一百萬人以上の支那人を收容し居るのであります。支那人が何故にこの地帯を好むかに付ては、理由極めて明白である、即ち日本の行政府下に於て、近代的文化の諸設備、

低率にして確定的なる租税、善良なる警察等の諸制度があるからであります。

南滿洲鐵道株式會社創立の當初支那人側に對しても株式應募の機會を與へられたるに拘らず、これを利用することを欲しなかつたのであります。而かも尙ほ滿洲の支那人は南滿洲鐵道株式會社の事業に依つて利する所甚だ大なるものがあります。滿鐵は日本人よりも多數の支那人を雇用し、一九二八年三月を終とする一會計年度中に株主への配當が二千一百萬圓なるに對して、支拂實銀の總額が二千六百四十五萬圓、その七割五分は支那人に支拂つたのであります。尙ほ又記憶すべきことは、日本人の賃銀所得と雖も大部分が滿洲の生産品に對して支出せられ、従つて結局は支那人のポケットに這入るものであります。次に日本は滿洲の特産物に對する海外第一の市場であります。日本は滿洲の農民の生産物を運送するのみならず、その大顧客であります。一朝若し日本が滿洲に於る自己の鐵道と港灣を閉鎖し、滿洲の産物を購買しないことになつたら、滿洲は即時

に恐慌に直面することになりませう。

前述の通り滿洲の開発に對する日本の主たる貢賦は平和の維持と適切安全なる運輸機關の提供でありますが、支那の最大の資産、即ち低廉、勤怠なる支那人勞働者の存するなくんば、何事も爲し得なかつたことも勿論のこととあります。平和の保障と共に、廣大なる未墾の沃土に吸引せられ、最近數百萬の支那人は支那の北方諸省特に山東より滿洲に流入しつゝある、この移住民の流は、滿洲の可耕地の約半分が未だ鋤鉋を入れず放置せられ居るの事實と相俟つて將來に於る滿洲發展の主たる要素を形成するものであります。この獨目の状態、即ち低廉にして能率高き勞働力の無限なる供給に加ふるに、未だ開發せられざる莫大なる豊饒の土地を利用するに際しては、滿洲をして今日あらしめたと同様なる二つの要素、即ち平和と運輸とに寄與せねばなりません。現在滿洲の有する鐵道の延長約三千四百五十哩、その中約七百哩は南滿洲鐵道これを占め、東支鐵道が一千一百哩、その外の一六六五哩の鐵道が支那人の統制下

に置かれてあります。支那側の鐵道の或るものは日本が支那の爲めに資金を供給して、その建設工事を引受け、而して支那の管理下にあるものがありますか、重要な數箇の路線は支那人が自己の資本を以て自ら建設したものがあります、而して今や漸くにして支那人は彼等自らの鐵道、電車、電燈事業を經營し、街路を築め、近代的都市計畫を實現する等の發達を示したることは、實に最近數十年間に亘つて建設よりも寧ろ不幸なる破壊を轟としたる滿洲以外の支那の各地と比較對照するに當つて、重大なる一要點を指示するものであります。滿洲のこの状態は、一面に於て支那人が日本の發達に模倣し、大に日本の指導に負ふ所あるの事實に由來するものであります。他の支那の各地に於ても多少同様の情勢を呈して居る、而して若し平和と秩序にして保持することを得るに於ては、滿洲以外の支那の各地に於ても同等の發達を所期し得るでありませう。若しも何らの妨害を受くることなくして平和裡にそれを奨励せしむることを許さるゝならば、支那人がその獨目の忍耐力と旺盛なる精力とに

よつて如何に高く可き業績を挙げ得るかといふことの、繁囀らしき
實例を、滿洲は支那の他の地方に對して示すものであります。

勿論の事實として、何れの地域の發展繁榮も平和と秩序がその絶
對的條件なること、秩序は鐵道の發達に伴ふものなるの事實は、
滿洲内にあつて鐵道の便を享受する各地とこれを受けざる滿洲地方
とを比較すれば明瞭に解ります。斯くの如くにして日本の鐵道附屬
地内に於ては特に秩序が維持されて居り、その結果として支那人す
らも營業、居住の爲めに鐵道附屬地を讚美して居るの事實が見出さ
れるのであります。それは恰も又那人目らが滿洲以外の地方に於て
好んで外國租界に保護を求むると一様でありまして、支那の鐵道地
帯に於てさへ鐵道を有せざる地方よりは治安がよりよく保持されて
居るのであります。即ち鐵道なき地方は勿論のこと、鐵道路線より
程遠らぬ地域に於てすら馬賊の横行甚しく、謠言なくしては旅行危
險の情況であります。

過去に於る滿洲の發達か現存諸鐵道の布設に負ふが如く、將來に

對する一層の開発の爲めには更に多くの鐵道が増設されなければなりません。何となれば鐵道運輸の便ある地方に於ける移民が飽和の域に達する時期は最早や目に見えて居るからであります。吾々は支那人と日本間の鐵道競争の問題を屢々耳にするのでありますが、いふまでもなく如斯憂の存在せざることとは常識を以て解ることであります。日本が滿洲の發達に興味を抱く所以のものは、日本は滿洲に原料を求め、これを製造工業品と爲し、更にこれを逐次に増加しつつある滿洲の人口目営てに賣捌かんとする點に存するのであります。日本は滿洲に於て何等の政治的野心なきことを幾度か聲明した而して是れは證據を出す迄もないことであるが、現に日本が多年の間滿洲に對する支那人移民を奨励促進したことが何よりの證據であります。滿洲に於ける居住民の中に支那人の移住民一人を加ふる毎に滿洲は益々支那人化する、が故に若し日本にして政治的野心を抱蔵せんか、日本は移民の流入に反對せねばならぬ筈であります。然るに滿洲に來住する支那人移民は悉く原料の生産者であると同時に

工業品の有望なる購買者である、この意味に於て移民を奨励すること

とは日本の重要なる關心事であります。
これら移民の定住し得べき地域を開拓するには、新しき鐵道を建設せねばならない。この新しき諸鐵道が單に既存の鐵道に對して妨害を爲し、これと競争することを目的とせずして、新生面を開拓することを目標とする限りに於ては、然かも、その建設が宜しきを得而して正當且つ有能に經營さる限りに於ては、それが何人の手に依つて建設されやうとも、それは殆んど問ふところではないのであります。滿洲に於る生産の増加は極めて迅速であつて、設計宜しきを得たる鐵道ならば決して貨物の不足に苦むことなどは想像し得べからざる底のものがあります。更に又滿洲の鐵道は競争の爲めに苦む所か、却つて相呼應して互に助力し合ふに相違ないといつてもよろしいのであります。

尙ほ凡て鐵道はそれが鐵道としての機能を發揮して苟しくも實用に供せられんがためには適當なる海港と連絡を要することは看過す

ることを許されないのでありまして、滿洲に於る新鐵道の建設も、必ずや近代的海港を有するや若しくは地理的に有利なる地點に港湾設備を爲すの可能性ありや否やに依つて決定せらるべきものであります。現時に於る滿洲の生産物の大部は大連、浦鹽斯徳の二大港に依つて輸送することを要するのであります。安東、營口の如き小港は、假令その改良を加ふるにしても、現在約二千七百萬の滿洲人口が將來七千五百万人に増加したる場合——而かも容易に滿洲はこの人口を支へ得るのであるが——その時に於て莫大なる滿洲の生産物の輸送を如何にするやの問題の解決に對して多くを期待し得ないのであります。當今未だ利用せられ居らざる地方が一度運輸機能の整備に伴ひ開拓せらるゝに及むては、これに隨伴して鐵道と港湾設備の増加を要することは明白であります、而して正に來るべき將來の巨大なる産物の増加に一度思を致すならば、滿洲は恰も大量の流動體が只一つのみなる不完分なる出口より脱出せんとする、その流動體を盛れる恐るべき壘の如きものであります。

又新しき港灣は次の如く設備するに當つては、出來得る限り短かき陸上の輸送距離を以て奥地各方面の産物を齎らし得るが如き海岸の地誌を擇ばざる可からざるは明白であります、而かも如斯き港灣設備は勿論出來得る限り生産物の最終輸送先と短距離の地誌に施設せらるべきものであります。此れ即ち例へば、日本が朝鮮の沿岸に一港を設けむとする所以であつて、それは現在の長春、敦化間の鐵道線路の北部及び西部に於て或は既に開發せられ、或は近き將來に於て開發せらるべき廣大肥沃の地域に對する輸出港の役目を果すべき筈のものであります。前述の地域の生産物は良き港灣設備を獲さへすれば、現在よりも遙かにその距離を短縮して、天れ天れの終端市場に日本はその最重要なる市場の一つであるに到達することになります。大豆、小麥等の商品價格は世界市場の決定する所であり、その輸入者はその購買を爲すに當つてはこの價格に依つて支配されるものであるが故に、輸送費の高低が生産者の利益であります、生産品を原産地より販賣地に仕向くるに要する費用の多きに依つて、農民がその生産物に依つて利する所が倍々少くなるのであります。

更に滿洲産の原料品を加工品生産の爲めに需要すべき諸國に對し、この原料を倍々廉價に供給するに従つて、右原料品の購買が増加を致し、滿洲の農民がその産物を賣捌く所の市場が擴張さるゝのであります。

確かに滿洲に於ては日本も支那も世界各國一般も共に同一の事態を、即ちその急速なる繁榮發展を要望して居る、而してこれが達成の爲め的手段方法に就ては、屢々私の説明を試みた所の如くであります。が、過去數十年の間に見る所の奇蹟を實現せしめたる要因、即ち平和と妥當なる運輸機能との二者は、將來の發展に關しても主たる要素たるに相違ありません。現時の如き環境の下に於て、必要缺くべからざる一事は協力にあることは申すまでもありませんが來るべき次の數十年も亦過去三十年の成功を物語る基礎の上に建設せらるべきであり、且つ又單に滿洲をして支那に於る最高度の繁榮地帯たらしむるに止らず、爾餘の支那本土の模範たらしむべきであります。